How Can Violence be Stopped?

Reg. No. B 3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 15] AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 19, 1946 [THREE ANNAS

Notes

Non-violence and Khadi

The Congress constitution is undergoing a radical change. The supreme change that is desirable for the sake of avoiding untruth and hypocrisy is to remove the words "legitimate and peaceful" from the first article of the Congress constitution as also the clause about Khadi. Experience shows that the people who form the bulk of Congressmen are not wedded either to truth and non-violence or to Khadi. As an ardent lover of truth and non-violence and Khadi as their symbol, I make bold to suggest that these clauses should go. It will be open to anyone to be truthful and non-violent and to wear Khadi if he or she chooses to. Only there will be no deception practised on India or the world. Paradoxical as it may appear we shall be more healthful, more non-violent and better Khadi lovers with the suggested amendment than without. It should be remembered that I myself had at one time moved the removal of these clauses. I was glad I was defeated. It was wrong to be glad. I shall be sorry if my suggestion is rejected even now. Let it not be said of us that we prize hypocrisy above truth.

Cocktail Parties

We seem to be on the eve of attaining independence! Should we ape bad European manners and customs and still prize independence? It would be a sad day for India and the world, if the price we are to pay for independence is cocktail parties and the like. What do the famishing millions know of such parties? Let it not be said of us that our monied men were gay whilst those from whom they made money were famishing for food.

Harijan Cooks

A correspondent suggests that at the next session of the Congress all the cooks should be Harijans and to that end a corps of Harijan cooks should be trained in the observance of cleanliness and the art of cooking scientifically and as behoves a poor country like ours. He would have this privilege and duty given to the Congressmen in the province in which the Congress session is to be held. After the session these cooks should be taken over by those Congressmen who can afford it and keep cooks. Any suggestion like this which shows in practice that untouchability is a thing of the past is to be welcomed. I would only add that Congressmen who endorse it need not wait for the session. They should from now take up Harijans not merely as their cooks but have them in all other capacities. What is more, let those who can afford it take Harijans in their families as their own children and give them proper training. All this can only happen if men and women are sincere in their professions and if the truth has gone home that under the garb of religion Hinduism is said to have consigned to untouchability their own kith and kin for no fault of theirs.

Simla, 8-5-'46

Valmikis of Simla

Readers must know that *Valmiki* is another word for *bhangi*. Their living quarters in Simla are deplorable. No one bothers about them. Rajkumari has tried her best for them for years but how much can a single person do? I am unable to get as far and see things for myself, but I requested Badshah Khan who is staying with me to go there. He gives me a piteous account of their hovels. Some of the *Valmikis* have been to see me and have placed other woeful complaints before me. I feel that if in the first instance their living quarters were rebuilt many of their other complaints too would be put right. It is the bounden duty of the public and the Municipality of Simla to remove this evil as soon as they can from their midst. They can be no cleaner than the least clean among them.

Simla, 13-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

To Correspondents

My daily post may be said to have increased fourfold since the 'Harijan' weeklies started. It is impossible to answer every letter. Every communication is read but not by me. If I attempted to do so I would be unable to render any service. My staff put before me only what I should see. Much of the post does not merit replies, but questions of public interest are answered in 'Harijan'. Personal correspondence has to be rigidly restricted. I receive a large number of requests for blessings on the occasion of marriages which I am hesitant to send. I have already stated publicly that my blessings should be asked for only such marriages where one of the contracting parties is a Harijan. But in reality where is the need for blessings? Those marriages which are undertaken for the sake of joint service carry their own blessings. Those entered upon for self-satisfaction are wholly unworthy of any. In any event, in these days of famine, no money should be spent on feasts and enjoyment. Weddings will continue, but is it not possible for the event to take place quietly and without fuss?

Simla, 6-5-'46 M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION

South Africa is the cradle of Satyagraha as a political weapon. It is also the place, thanks to the weapon of non-violence, where the Indian community have so far been able successfully to resist the attempts of the Whites to squeeze them out. Faced with the renewed menace in the form of the Land Tenure Legislation which has been passed into law, it has again resolved to resort to the weapon of Satyagraha.

A Delegation on behalf of the South African Indian community has been in this country for some time past to enlist the co-operation and active support of their compatriots in their impending struggle for the right to exist as a self-respecting community. It includes some veteran Satyagrahi soldiers who took part in the Satyagraha fight under Gandhiji and which closed with the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. It is headed by Shri Sorabjee Rustomjee, the son of the late Parsi Rustomjee, with whose name the readers of Gandhiji's 'Story of My Experiments with Truth' and the history of 'Satyagraha in South Africa' must be familiar.

STRATEGY OF SATYAGRAHA

The Delegation saw Gandhiji more than once. The last time it was in the Sweepers' Colony at Delhi. They sought Gandhiji's advice as to the starting of a successful Satyagraha. In the course of the conversation Gandhiji remarked on the presence of divisions among them. They admitted divisions but argued that they were there even in Gandhiji's time.

"The difference between then and now," explained Gandhiji "is this, that in those days the blacklegs became isolated after a time and it was possible to hold monster meetings everywhere. Parsi Rustomjee went among the indentured labourers and in the final struggle they rose like one man. Repeat that history today and you will win. Do not repeat it and you will fail. Do you command the sympathy and support of all the interests? Will the mercantile community back you?" he asked them.

"The mercantile community," answered Sorabjee, "was not with us even then."

"But we had Kachalia," rejoined Gandhiji. "If you have one Kachalia amongst you, the whole of the mercantile community will be covered."

"Suppose no merchant comes forward. Is not a struggle possible then?" asked Sorabjee.

"It will then take a different turn," replied Gandhiji, "and in the end the mercantile community will be swept out of existence."

"We are a difficult community at times," remarked one member of the deputation.

"And quarrelsome too," added another.

"I know, I know," said Gandhiji. "The South Africa of today is not far different from the South Africa that I have known. In the first article I wrote for the 'Indian Opinion', I said that if after all there was one true man in South Africa he will cover all. He will build up the whole structure from within." "Amidst a whole heap of bad coins, I wrote," proceeded Gandhiji, quoting from memory, "if there is one true sovereign, the heap will be worth that one sovereign and no more. If you produce one civil resister of merit he will pull things through. Do not start the struggle therefore unless you have that stuff. Manage to exist you will anyhow. But that should not satisfy you. You have to live as a self-respecting community with an equal status. Indians have to make good that position by showing the real stuff."

The discussion then turned on the strategy of the proposed Satyagraha. Gandhiji was definitely opposed to sitting in prohibited seats in trains and railway carriages by way of Satyagraha. Satyagraha should be on a clear, unequivocal and impersonal issue and capable of taking thousands in its fold.

RELATIONS WITH THE NATIVES

The conversation next turned on the relations between the Indian community and the Natives. Gandhiji mentioned how he had refused to send a message for a meeting of the West African Federation that was held some time back in London, because they conceived of a struggle after the way of Europe. "Probably theirs is not the way of non-violence." "One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their White oppressors, unless some one presents to them the weapon of Satyagraha," he added.

"You have said we should associate with Zulus and Bantus. Does it not mean joining them in a common anti-White front?" one member of the Delegation asked.

"Yes, I have said," answered Gandhiji, "that we should associate with Zulus, Bantus, etc. It means that you take them under your wing when you have developed that power of non-violence. It will be good if you fire them with the spirit of non-violence. You will be their saviour. But if you allow yourselves to be over-whelmed and swept off your feet, it will be their and your ruin.

"Their slogan today is no longer merely 'Asia for the Asiatics' or 'Africa for the Africans' but the unity of all the exploited races of the earth. On India rests the burden of pointing the way to all the exploited races. She won't be able to bear that burden today if non-violence does not permeate us more than today. I have been trying to fit ourselves for that mission by giving a wider bend to our struggle. India will become a torch-bearer to the oppressed and exploited races only if she can vindicate the principle of non-violence in her own case, not jettison it as soon as independence of foreign control is achieved."

"Race consciousness," remarked another member of the Delegation, "is rising all over South Africa. We Indians take advantage of the Bantus. We send our children to native colleges. But we are ashamed to call ourselves natives. They feel we are arrogant and aloof. We do not do enough to make an adequate return for what we have got from them. They are getting resentful and the White man encourages and promotes that feeling to widen the gulf."

"It will be an evil day for you if he succeeds," replied Gandhiji. "The trouble is that you are all worshippers of the golden calf."

"Having never seen it, how can we worship it?" Mr. Christopher put in.

"Worshipping is different from seeing," retorted Gandhiji. "Don't we worship God without seeing Him?"

PRODUCE YOUR OWN LEADERS

The Delegation then asked if a leader could be sent from India to organize and lead them. Gandhiji in reply told them that a leader would have to arise from among them. He hoped that they would throw up one in due time. He described to them how he had been arguing with his son Manilal to train up his children for the task. After they had finished their education in India he hoped they would go back and settle down in South Africa and serve the Indian Community.

Apropos the training that would equip South African born Indian children for service he mentioned how he had refused to send his own children to Loveday and Fort Hare.

Delhi, 8-5-'46 PYARELAL

A SIMLA DIARY

I must apologize to the readers for the absence of a "Weekly Letter" from Simla for reasons I explained last week. The following gleaned from the notes on Gandhiji's prayer discourses prepared by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur will, however, be found fairly to cover the week.

Gandhiji's statement on his reasons for sending back his permanent staff to Delhi did not satisfy the people. It seemed too strange to be true. They still wanted to know the "real reason". Gandhiji's first discourse after our departure from Simla, therefore, naturally turned on his momentous decision. He explained to the audience how his permanent staff had shortly before left for Delhi with smiling faces and his blessings. His task was very hard. But all difficulties could be overcome by leaning on God. Ever since he had reached years of discretion he had felt that God is always with those who wait on him. "In reality He is everywhere but because He is formless and invisible man cannot always sense His presence. But if we have listening ears, God speaks to us in our own language, whatever that language be." Badshah Khan had just explained what prayer was. God was all powerful. Man lived at His will. It was because Gandhiji wanted in these crucial days to rely solely on His help that he had asked his people who looked after his every need and helped him to edit the 'Harijan' weeklies to leave him to God. Yet he was not quite without human help. He had the Fakir Badshah Khan with him, the Sardar and his daughter, who was as his own daughter, Dr. Dinshah Mehta and Shri Brijkrishna and Shri Sudhir Ghosh. Birlaji had sent some of his staff too.

A DIFFICULT TASK

Referring to the work in Simla he observed that it was hard for everyone of the three parties—perhaps hardest for the Cabinet Mission. They had vowed to let go their hold on India. He trusted their word. He would advise all to do likewise. It was undignified to be suspicious. The deceiver ever lost. Gandhiji warned people not to believe that Britain was crumbling. They were a great power. The shame for us was that a handful of them had ruled over us for so long and the greater shame for them was that they had held dominion over us. But if all were true and all relied on God, no one need have any fear for the future.

THE TECHNIQUE OF SILENCE

He might have pursued the theme on the next day too. But the next day being his day of silence he contented himself by writing out a short message explaining the technique of restoring silence in big gatherings. The general practice of everybody trying to restore order by shouting at every other is a contradiction in terms and often makes confusion worse confounded. "Noise is not erased by making greater noise. It can only be stilled by people making mute signs and never pushing forward. Peace and order were necessary at all gatherings, but are especially so at prayer gatherings. People come together for prayers in order to obtain peace, to hear God's name and to recite it. Therefore, those who come should really attune themselves even as they start from their homes. Let them be silent and let their thoughts dwell as they walk, on prayer. Otherwise coming to prayers was useless."

STRANGE RUMOURS

He reverted to his previous day's theme in his after-prayer discourse on the 7th. Strange rumours had come to him, he said, in regard to his permanent staff having left. Some people were foolish enough to believe that there had been some domestic quarrel. Those who lived with him were not made of such stuff. Others imagined that because his staff had left, the negotiations had broken down. This too was wholly untrue. They left, as Gandhiji had said before, because they understood that he wanted to be alone with God as his only help. Even so he was not without help. It had been so throughout his life. In South Africa, too, all kinds of people had helped him including Boers, Africans and Europeans.

SPECULATION FEVER

The address on the 7th contained scathing denunciation of the speculation fever which had seized Simla. He interpreted it as a sign of cowardice. He tried to impress upon them that it arose from fear. He himself, was a coward in his early youth. He had learnt to shed his cowardice through the recitation of *Ramanama*. It was cowards who died many times before their death. Fear of disease killed more men than disease itself. He appealed to newspapermen also not to spread false news. It was their duty to teach people to be brave and not instil fear into them. The Cabinet Mission had come with the blessings of the Prime Minister, who had said they were coming here to part with power whether Indians agreed among themselves

or not. It was not right to distrust or disbelieve anyone so long as there was no cause to do so. Were those who had had the courage to put up a non-violent fight against a mighty empire for 25 years going to yield to frustration if the British Government failed to perform its duty today?

GURUDEV'S BIRTHDAY

On Gurudev's birthday which fell on the 8th, a picture of the poet had been put on the dais at the prayer gathering. Drawing the attention of the gathering to it, Gandhiji said that the inscription under it was the motto 'The light that never failed.' Gurudev's body was reduced to ashes but the radiance that had been within him was like the sun which would shine so long as life on this earth lasted. But the light he shed was for the soul as the sun's was for the body. He was a poet and a literary star of the first magnitude. He wrote in his mother tongue and all Bengal was able to drink deep at the fountain of his poetry. Translations of his works existed in many languages. He was a great writer in English too, perhaps almost without knowing it. He had school education but he could boast of no university degree. He was just Gurudev. One Viceroy had called him the poet of Asia, a title that no one before him had had. He was also a world poet and, what is more, a *Rishi*. "He has left us the Gitanjali, the poems which brought him world fame. The great Tulsidas left us his immortal Ramayana. The renowned Vedavyasa left us a history of mankind. They were not mere poets; they were teachers. Gurudev too wrote not only as a poet but as a *Rishi*." Writing, however, was not his only gift. He was an artist, a dancer, a singer with all the sweetness and purity that art in its finest sense should contain. "His creative genius has also given us Shantiniketan, Shriniketan and Vishwa-Bharati. These breathe his spirit and are a legacy not only to Bengal but to India. Shantiniketan has become, as it were, a place of pilgrimage to us all. He was not, in his lifetime, able to make of these institutions what he had dreamed for them. What man can? Fulfilment of man's purpose is in God's hands. But they are monuments to his endeavour and are a constant reminder to us of the passionate love he had for his country and the service he rendered to her." They had just heard the national song he wrote, a song which has found a place in our national life. "How often is the inspiring refrain heard from thousands of voices! It is not only a song but is also like a devotional hymn."

Gandhiji ended by exhorting the people to learn the lessons of love of country, love of the world and selfless service from the noble example which Gurudev had left.

THINGS OF THE SPIRIT

Things of the spirit formed the subject of his next two discourses. In the first he told them that the spirit of prayer must abide with them all the twentyfour hours, if it was a heart prayer and not merely from the lips. The real peace of prayer could come to their hearts only if God entered therein. Then they would be the same outwardly as they were within. They would be honest, they would harbour no enmity against anyone, they would be truthful, they would cheat no one if they were in business.

Gandhiji said he would like more and more persons to come to the prayer gatherings but only if they came in the right spirit and with listening ears, so that they may live up to whatever good they may take from the worship. "It may take time for the recitation to come from the heart even as a seed sown has to be nurtured and bears fruit only in due season. If the desire to have God within us is there, progress, however slow, is bound to be. Man can not be transformed from bad to good overnight. God does not exercise magic. He too is within His own law." His law, however, was different from the law of the State. "There may be mistakes in the latter but God cannot err. If He were to go beyond the limits of His law, the world would be lost. He is changeless, unchanging, unequalled, the same yesterday, today and for ever." His law is written on the tablets of their hearts. They could become changed men and women, only if they had the desire of reform and if they were prepared for ceaseless endeavour.

The arrival of Shri Sucheta Kripalani with her melodious singing introduced some colour into the prayer gatherings. Interpreting, in the course of his discourse on the 11th, the song which she had sung, he reminded them that in that song they were told that they were all citizens of a country in which there was no sorrow and no sighing. They should not imagine that this reference was to heaven. The poet had said that he was singing of the land in which they lived. It did not mean waiting until all were perfect. Each one could make such a country for himself if he allowed God to dwell therein. The world was after all made up of individuals. True, there were people of different races and different colours, speaking different languages. How to live in such a world was what the *bhajan* taught them.

NO FAILURE THIS TIME

An indication as to the trend of the Simla talks was afforded by his next discourse. Referring to the spate of false rumours which filled the air, viz, that there had been a break-down in the talks, that the Cabinet Mission were returning home without doing anything and Indian leaders would again return empty-handed as they did from the Simla Conference last time, he said that this was not a conference like the one they had last year. If he understood the English language aright, the Cabinet Mission were here to find out how best they could implement their decision to quit, i. e. remove their power from India. It was their duty, if they could, to try to bring about agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Conference was being held for that purpose. If people were united, no power on earth could have ruled over them but their tragedy was that they had their differences. But even if the Conference failed of its purpose, no one need be disappointed. Those who have faith in God

must be patient and brave. Supposing they were going to be deceived, they must stand up and face the consequences bravely. Gandhiji said he had no reason to believe that the Cabinet Mission was here to deceive them. They were trying to leave in an orderly manner so that Indians may be able to live in peace. There was no need to worry. Man had to do his duty. God had given him strength and discernment to do so. But results were always in God's hands.

Lest We Forget

Lest in their anxiety for their own future they might forget their duty towards those whom they had condemned as the lowest of the low, he sent Badshah Khan to visit and report on the conditions of the Sweepers' Quarters. The report which the latter brought him filled him (Gandhiji) with anger and grief. He would have loved to go there himself. Unfortunately he could not now negotiate hills and therefore could not walk so far to see them himself. He thought it a crime to sit in *rickshaws* especially for able-bodied man. He disliked even a motor car. He wanted always to use his legs, the means of locomotion that God had given him. Last night he walked, but the hill seemed unending. It was impossible for him, much as he would have liked to do so, to live in the *Harijan Nivas* here. He had heard of it before and what Badshah Khan told him confirmed it, namely that the quarters in which they were forced to live were not fit for animals, much less for human beings. Some of them had been to see him in the morning with a long tale of woe. It was the bounden duty of the residents of Simla to look into their grievances and have them redressed.

He had heard too that the Khadi Bhandar at Simla might have to close down, because the Simla public were too lazy and too ununderstanding to spin the requisite quota of yarn. He told them that he still maintained that Swaraj hung on the thread of hand-spun yarn. Even if they got political Swaraj, as they were going to, they would never be able to maintain it without Khadi which was the truest symbol of non-violence. If they hoped to maintain Swaraj through force, they were hopelessly mistaken. Some one stronger would come and wrest their freedom from them. It was in the hands of the public in Simla to keep the Bhandar going and he hoped they would do so. Punjabi women were the first to offer him yarn in the old days. Let them live up to their reputation. For himself, he would rather lose their money and close down every Bhandar, if need be, but Swaraj never.

Delhi, 15-5-'46 PYARELAL

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HEART SEARCHING

"Do you think we are getting off your backs at last," asked an English visitor who saw Gandhiji sometime back.

"I have no doubt as to the sincerity of your intention. The question is whether you will have the strength and courage needed for it. It is so difficult to get out of conventional grooves of thought and action," replied Gandhiji.

"We must not precipitate a solution," resumed the friend. We must let India decide for herself. At the same time, one does not want to leave the country to chaos when an unprecedented famine threatens it."

"Your difficulty," remarked Gandhiji, "will remain so long as you retain the belief that your rule has benefited India. None of us believes it."

"One or two have testified to the contrary," rejoined the visitor.

"That is neither here nor there," replied Gandhiji. "I too believed it once. Such benefit as has really accrued to India is not part of foreign rule but is the result of contact with a robust people. The good is incidental, the evil of foreign rule is inherent and far outweighs the good. Communal divisions in India can be demonstrably proved to be a British creation. Even famine as we know it today is your creation."

The last remark startled the visitor. Gandhiji noted the effect his words had produced. "Mark the true meaning of my words," he resumed. "Famines may be said to be God-sent. But a well-equipped country should be able to pull through a deficiency period and not helplessly succumb. Famines in India today are not due to rain or lack of it merely, but due to the fact that India is ill equipped to tide over the dry periods. Nothing has been done to safeguard her population against the threat of recurring famines. Take South Africa. There they fight against the locusts, draught etc. manfully and with infinite resourcefulness. Here famine is simply blamed on the rain gods and there is nothing to be done for it."

"Would India have been better equipped, if Britain had not been here ?" interpolated the visitor.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "There would have been no railways. . . ."

This was another shock to the visitor who apparently with most Westerners regarded railways as the proudest achievement of British rule in India to combat famine. But Gandhiji who holds with the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that the railways are the chief cause of the recurrence of famines in India proceeded: "If there were no railways etc. we would be living in a natural state as they used to in England and Europe in the Middle Ages when every feudal baron had his castle with its stocks of grain and water. Before the advent of railways in India every village had its granary. In that sense we were better equipped. Moreover, we had our system of domestic crafts to fall back upon if crops failed. Now railways have depleted the countryside of its stocks and killed the handicrafts.

Whatever cash the cultivator gets in return for his produce runs through his fingers like water, thanks to the invasion of his economy by the revenue collector and the imported foreign goods without which he thinks he can no longer do. The British have told him: 'Do not stock grain, do not hoard silver.' There is no provision made for a deficit period. Railways have become a snare, cheap transport a trap. The Princes practised tyranny in olden times too. But it could not go far. The natural means of redress, viz. insurrection, retreat or migration were still open to the people. They were not then disarmed or emasculated. Odds were even. Today the odds are so heavy that a handful of British soldiers can terrorize millions. That is what British rule has done to us. It is most demoralizing. The British must realize this and leave us in an exemplary manner. If the virus has gone so deep that it cannot be cured without applying a strong blister, even then they must go. A few lakhs might be killed in internecine warfare but real peace will come at last. If I could persuade India to adopt the way of non-violence it would be settled in two days. Otherwise, the ordeal might last longer. Even so the destruction won't be anything like the destruction wrought by foreign rule. India would have then something to live for and die for. Today what has she to live and die for?"

"But it is a big responsibility to leave India faced with anarchy," remarked the visitor still hesitating.

"Not a bigger responsibility than you were prepared to face during the war out of strategic considerations," answered Gandhiji, leaving his visitor to ruminate over the inconsistency of his position.

Delhi, 14-5-'46 PYARELAL

USEFUL HINTS

(*Continued from No. 14*)

MANURE

Much of the waste of the village including sweepings, bones, human excreta etc. that go to spoil the sanitation of the village at present could be utilized into making compost manure which is very easily done and which is as good a manure as cow dung. Bones and oil-cakes which are usually exported out of the country should not be allowed to leave the villages. The bones must be crushed locally with the help of *chunam chakkis* after being charred a little in the *chunam bhattis* and the meal distributed amongst the farmers.

Manure-making in villages may be given out on subsidized contract. This will not only ensure the cleanliness of the village but it will also raise the sweepers engaged in making compost and manure to the level of traders.

Oil mills which take away the oil-seeds from the villages and give only oil in return, sending the cake abroad, are depriving the land of a valuable form of fertilizer. This must be stopped altogether. This is one of the fundamental reasons why oil-seeds should not be allowed to go out of the villages, but should be crushed in the local country *ghanis*. This will retain both the oil and the cake in the village and be a source of enrichment to men, cattle and the land.

In the name of increasing the fertility of the soil, much attempt is being made to introduce chemical fertilizers into our agriculture. The experience gained through the use of such chemical fertilizers throughout the world is clear enough to guide us against the inroads to be made by these fertilizers. They do not add to the fertility of the soil, but act as stimulants or drugs resulting in immediate bumper crops and in the end bring about a corresponding exhaustion of the land. They also destroy a host of earth worms so essential for agriculture. In the long run such artificial fertilizers prove to be most injurious to the land. Behind the trumpeting of chemical fertilizers lies the anxiety of the fertilizer factory owners to push the sale of their products irrespective of the harm or injury they do to agriculture.

LAND MANAGEMENT

Besides increasing the bulk of the manures, the fertility of the soil should be maintained by stopping erosion by means of proper drainage, embankments etc. In the final analysis fertility of the soil is the fountain head from which springs all nourishment for cattle and men in the form of fodder and corn. If the fertility of the soil is reduced, the food produced on it will be of poor quality and consequently the health of the people will suffer. This is why nutrition experts connect up health with agriculture.

SEEDS

Selected and improved varieties of seeds are essential for the improvement of agriculture. What is wanted in this regard is the machinery for effective distribution of seeds. There can be no better medium for this than co-operative societies.

RESEARCH

All research in agriculture should be directed towards improving food crops as well as raw materials for village industries rather than money crops such as tobacco and raw materials for factories, e.g. thick rinded sugar-cane and long staple cotton.

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND FOR THE PRODUCTION OF BALANCED DIET

The food question, which has assumed serious proportions now, does not promise an immediate solution. The problem is two-fold. The immediate is a caloric shortage and secondly, there is the long standing shortage of protective foods. The first problem may find an easy solution but the second one is going to present difficulties.

It is ordinarily presumed that an acre of land provides more calories through the production of grains than through any other food. But apart from the question of calories, grains are very poor suppliers of protective food factors. Therefore, if we aim at getting these factors from cereals only, huge quantities of grains will be required. On the other hand, if the grains are substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits and vegetables, nuts, oil-seeds etc., the protective food factors required to make up a balanced diet may be obtained through lesser quantities of these types of food than through grains alone. Even the supply of calories per acre is greater in the case of some of the root vegetables like potatoes than in the case of cereal grains. Thus a balanced diet may be a double blessing and may offer the solution to our problem. It reduces the per capita requirment of land and at the same time supplies the body with all its requirments in their correct pro-

portions, so as to keep it fit and healthy. It is calculated that the per capita land available in India at present for food cultivation comes to about 0.7 acre. This very land which is found to be too inadequate to meet our requirements in food according to the present distribution of cultivation becomes more than sufficient as only 0.4 acre is the estimated figure required for a balanced diet in the re-ordered system of agriculture. The land of the locality should be so divided for the purpose of growing crops as to provide its population with the materials for a balanced diet rather than merely supplying the cereals for a grain diet as at present. This aspect of the question should be thoroughly investigated and a definite plan chalked out.

RICE

1. All rice mills should be disbanded as in Travancore.

2. All the hullers used for polishing rice should be completely banned.

3. People should be educated about the better nutritive value of whole unpolished rice and about the method of cooking it by practical demonstration and film shows. Polishing of rice should be prohibited or its degree of polishing should be very strictly controlled.

4. Where the paddy husking industry is carried on on an industrial scale for business purposes, in predominantly paddy growing areas, costly equipment such as paddy separators, winnowers etc. should be supplied on hire to a group of artisans through their co-operative society.

5. In view of the fact that the use of unpolished rice is to be advocated and popularized, the movement of paddy from one place to another will become necessary, and in order that the freight on the extra weight of the paddy may not enhance the price of rice, the freight charges on paddy should be favourably discriminated.

6. In areas where the implements for dehusking paddy and polishing rice are not separate, but both the processes are combined into one of pounding paddy, the resultant product is polished rice. In such cases, dehusking implements, i.e. *chakkis* either of wood, stone or mud, should be introduced, and can even be supplied along with the equipment for other industries through the district demonstration centres. As far as possible the use of rice polishing implements should be discouraged and even a tax may be levied on them to restrict their number. The degree of polishing rice under these licensed polishing implements should also be supervised and controlled. Paddy and other grains and seeds required by the village should be stocked in the village itself, and only the surplus should be sent out. The best agency for all such activities can be the multi-purpose cooperative society.

GRAIN STORAGE

If storage arrangements are made locally all the wastage through bad storage etc. and conveyance charges will be eliminated. Big towns and cities where proportionately larger stocks of grain are to be held can build *pucca* cement godowns after the model of the godowns at Muzaffarnagar, U. P.. These can be built either by the municipality or by private people to be rented out for grain storage. These godowns should be licensed and subjected to periodical inspection, like boilers are at present. An enormous loss of grain occurs through bad storage alone. Such loss is estimated on a conservative basis to be about 3.5 million tons, an amount equal to the declared deficit of grains in India during the current year. The qualitative loss caused by insects, rodents, dampness etc., all caused by bad storage arrangements — resulting in all kinds of diseases, is equally enormous. The storage problem is both an urgent and a permanent one and should be tackled in all earnestness and seriousness. In any case holding stocks in ill-protected godowns, as at present, should be stopped.

If the stocks are held in the villages where they are produced, and all their movements to town and back to villages are eliminated, the chances of their getting damaged are, of course, reduced. Local storage will go a long way towards eradicating black-marketing and is likely to stabilize prices besides removing much of the inconvenience caused to villages in obtaining rations from cities.

Individual holders of stock should be educated in methods for the preservation of grain. *(Concluded)*

Simla, 3-5-'46 J. C. KUMARAPPA

A GOOD REMINDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An anonymous friend has taken the trouble of collecting apposite extracts from the Book of Job and Psalms. As they are a perpetual reminder to all of us, I gladly give them below. The moral I draw from the sheaf is that since man is only dust and at best grass, he had better pass the few moments he is on this earth in the service of his fellow creatures. I am hoping that the sender has not collected the Biblical verses to show the futility of all work, which is a doctrine of laziness and parasitism.

Job :

Man that is born of a woman is of few days,
and full of trouble,
He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut
down; he fleeth also as a shadow,
and continueth not;
Seeing his days are determined, the number
of his months are with Thee, Thou
hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass;
For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down,
that it will sprout again and that the
tender branch thereof will not cease;
Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,
and the stock thereof die in the ground;
Yet through the scent of water, it will land,
and bring forth boughs like a plant;
But man dieth, and wasteth away,
Yea man giveth up the ghost, and where is he ?
As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood
decayeth and drieth up;
So man lieth down, and riseth not;
till the heavens be no more, they shall
not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep.

Psalm :

Lord make me to know mine end and the measure
of my days what it is; that I may know
how frail I am.
Behold Thou hast made my days as an hand-breadth;
and my age is as nothing before Thee;
verily every man at his best state is
altogether vanity;
For He knoweth our frame; He remembereth that
we are dust;
As for man, his days are grass : as a flower of
the field he flourisheth;
For the wind passeth over it and it is gone;
and the place thereof shall know it no more.

Simla, 13-5-'46

HARIJAN

May 19 **1946**

HOW CAN VIOLENCE BE STOPPED ?

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

Q. Some time back a military officer in Poona, who is about to return to England, said to me that violence was on the increase in India and would further increase as people were gradually turning away from the path of non-violence. " We in the West " he said, " not only believe in violence but our society is based on it. Several subject races have won their independence through violence and are today living in peace. We have discovered the atom bomb for stopping violence. The last great war is a case in point." Continuing the military officer said, " Gandhiji has shown your people the way of non-violence. Has he discovered any such power as the atom bomb which will at once convert people to non-violence and bring about a rule of peace ? Cannot Gandhiji's ' atom bomb ' stop people from following the path of violence ? Ask Gandhiji to exercise his power over the people and tell them to give up all thoughts of violence and adopt his creed. If he cannot wean his people today from the terrible violence that is spreading all over the country, I tell you that he will live a disappointed man and his life's work will be ruined."

A. There is much confusion of thought in this question. The atom bomb has not stopped violence. People's hearts are full of it and preparations for a third world war may even be said to be going on. While it would be absurd to say that violence has ever brought peace to mankind it cannot either be said that violence never achieves anything.

That I shall have to repent if I cannot stop violence does not enter into the picture of non-violence. No man can stop violence. God alone can do so. Men are but instruments in His hands. Here material means cannot stop violence but this does not mean that material means should not be employed for the purpose. The deciding factor is God's grace. He works according to His law and, therefore, violence will also be stopped in accordance with that law. Man does not and can never know God's law fully. Therefore we have to try as far as lies in our power. I hold that our experiment in non-violence has succeeded to a fair extent in India. There is, therefore, no room for the pessimism shown in the question. Finally Ahimsa is one of the world's great principles which no power on earth can wipe out. Thousands like myself may die in trying to vindicate the ideal but Ahimsa will never die. And the gospel of Ahimsa can be spread only through believers dying for the cause.

Simla, 9-5-'46
(From *Harijansevak*)

TOTAL PROHIBITION

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

National Provincial Governments are now in full swing in India. Happily on the question of prohibition, there can be no differences of opinion between the Congress and the Muslim League. And if all followed a concerted policy and the States too joined in, India would be dry in no time and earn the blessings of lakhs of homes. To the discredit of the Governments under virtual martial law, Governors and their Advisers had the shamelessness to reverse the policy which had been already adopted in some provinces and misappropriate the revenue which was raised by the provinces in question. Let them now take up prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Let them, too, not rest content with prohibition legislation. They have to devise methods of educating the drinking public in the harm that drink does and provide them with innocent recreation and health-giving drinks. Every bar or, failing that, a place next door to it should, so far as possible, be utilized as a refreshment and recreation room. If this constructive activity is taken up, it must prove a source of revenue for the State besides prohibition benefitting and reconstructing thousands of ruined homes.

Moreover, *toddy*-tapping should be replaced by *nira*-tapping for the purpose of converting *nira* into *gur*, much to the advantage of the nation which needs cheap sugar. These columns have shown how in some ways *tad-gur* is preferable to cane-*gur*.

These reflections are suggested by the following paragraph from a circular letter addressed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Fyzabad Road, Lucknow) to the Press. From it, I take the following items addressed to the students under the heading " What can youth do ? "

1. Pledge themselves to total abstinence from all intoxicants and habit-forming drugs, which includes tobacco. It helps to sign the pledge.

2. Demand a thorough Alcohol and Narcotic Drugs Education, to be a part of the School Curriculum.

3. Demand while under training a part in Social Service, including temperance work, educating the public of the harm done to them through the use of the intoxicants.

4. Recommend that in the Scheme for Small Savings Campaign for rural population, total abstinence from all intoxicants be stressed.

5. Ally themselves against the awful waste of precious foodstuffs for liquor in breweries and distilleries to feed the nation.

6. Join up with a Temperance Society. The W. C. T. U. has been in this struggle for the last 59 years in India. It needs your encouragement and support. Their motto is : "For God, for Home and Every Land."

7. Make use of temperance literature. Rs. 2/- a year will bring to you a 1oo leaflets a month in either Hindi or Urdu, also in some other vernaculars to give away. The monthly magazine, the Indian

Temperance News in English can be placed in any library (not personal) for a rupee a year. If students wish to subscribe to it, it might have the same reduction.

8. Holidays, a good time for this service.

9. As true patriots, to learn the lesson of how much they can *give* to the country rather than how much they can get out of it for themselves.

Simla, 7-5-'46

SLIGHTING SWARAJ?

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

"I am a middle class man living in a 12'x20' room in Bombay. I have a wife and child. My kitchen has to be in my living room. I had taken a vow to wear Khadi and have adhered to it up till now. Since the decision that Khadi could only be purchased by giving a certain quota of yarn came into being, it has become very hard for a man like myself, living the mechanical life of Bombay to find the requisite time for spinning. Nevertheless I have been spinning 1½ hours daily in order to be true to my pledge. I had no slivers left the other day and, therefore, went to the Khadi Bhandar to buy some. I was asked by the Manager either to come to the Bhandar in order to make my own slivers or do the carding there and make the slivers at home. Now it is impossible for me with my very limited living space to make slivers at home nor has a man like me the time to go and make them at the Bhandar. I said, "Either give me slivers or else I shall have to give up spinning." I was told I was at liberty to do what I considered proper. I realize that a man should be self-reliant and should make his own slivers. But I feel that this is impossible for me, placed as I am in Bombay. Thousands are in the same boat as myself. What should I do?

"By stopping the sale of slivers the Khadi Bhandar has hit the poor hard. They could earn as much by making slivers as by spinning."

The above letter requires an answer. The plight of the writer is the same as that of the many who live in the slums of Bombay. If our people were not so easily satisfied, the landlords of Bombay would not relegate poor families to one small living room each. Lakhs live in this way and thus make it possible for the rich to have their Malabar Hill and Chowpatty.

The spinning wheel shows us the way to remedy these conditions. If this were not so, it would have no place in my life. A few people may carve out their way by the sword, but the crores cannot. We must not imagine that slums do not exist in London, or Paris, or even New York. They do.

What will be the condition in Russia it is too early yet to say.

What then about the writer's difficulty? He says he finds time to spin 1½ hours daily. A man who spins that much every day can accumulate more yarn than necessary for his Khadi needs. It was a mistake on his part to want to buy slivers from the Bhandar. The Manager gave him the correct reply. Where there is room for spinning there is also room for '*tunai*' (new carding method) or '*punai*' (simpler than '*tunai*'). If there is no room for the wheel there is always the *takli*. The *Dhanush takli* too takes up less space. Whatever difficulties apply to the individual apply to all. The way to Swaraj lies in not going under but in overcoming them. Necessity is the mother of invention.

Again why should not the facilities for carding, slivering and spinning offered by the Khadi Bhandar be availed of? The new method of making slivers does not require much space and is not difficult.

The main requisite is for the spinner to have the faith that Swaraj hangs on a thread of hand-spun yarn. It will not hurt the country's cause if the man who lacks this faith gives up spinning. Khadi does enable many poor persons to earn their living by spinning and weaving. But this cannot do the work for the crores.

Simla, 13-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

AN EXACTION AND OPPRESSION

(*By Pyarelal*)

"*The salt tax is an exaction and oppression, and if the people understood it, it would only breed discontent.* It is a survival of the general exploitation of India's poverty by a profit-making Company."

Ramsay Macdonald

"For a poor population the pressure of what is equivalent to a poll tax is heavily felt and often produces grave discontent." Bastable

The present annual consumption of salt in India has been estimated to be 51,050,000 maunds per year according to Government estimates. An intake of 12 lbs. of salt per head per year is said to be necessary for maintaining an individual in the tropics in health. At this rate the total quantity of salt required for 40 crores would come to 600,00,000 mds.

The salt requirement for cattle and other four-footed animals per head has been calculated to be 18 lbs. for a cow, 45 lbs. for a bullock, a buffalo and a horse and 11 lbs. for a goat and a sheep. According to a rough estimate of the present cattle population of India, their requirement in salt would come to about 4 crores and 13 lakhs mds.* Another 3 crores mds. is required for various industrial purposes. This makes a total of 73 crores and 73 lakhs mds. The present production of salt is

* Total requirement of salt for cattle and other quadruped population of India:

According to the 1935 census the number of cattle in India was 21 crores and 50 lakhs. At the rate of half an ounce of salt daily, equivalent to 12 lbs. for the year, they would require about 4 crores and 73 lakh maunds of salt per year. Similarly, calculating the salt requirement of milch cattle as ¾ *chhatak* for 10 seers of milk, one hundred crore maunds of milk which are annually produced in India call for an annual consumption of 1 crore and 12 lakhs mds. of salt for milch cattle alone. The estimate of 3 crores mds. of salt for the consumption of cattle and other four-footed animals in India is therefore a palpable under-estimate. According to veterinary authorities the inadequate supply of salt available for cattle has resulted in a deterioration of their health and quality of the breed.

510,00,000 mds. per year. This comes to 38% of the actual requirement. As the industrial development of the country progresses the requirement for salt would increase still further.

The energies and expenditure of the Salt Department of the Government of India have hitherto been used more for preventing unlicensed manufacture of salt than for developing the salt industry itself. In 1939-40, the Government paid Rs. 33,72,251/4/10 as compensation to the various States to prevent the manufacture of salt in the States.

Given the freedom to manufacture salt, India could easily increase its salt production by ten-fold. The map of India is strewn with areas which were at one time flourishing centres of salt manufacture but which are now lying in a state of disuse as a result of the stringent enforcement of the salt laws, and it is a matter of shame that with all the unutilized natural sources of salt in India, we today import 194,00,000 mds. of salt or 25% of the total consumption, not to mention Rs. 1,42,42000 worth of sodium and potasium salts other than sodium chloride. The total amount of nitrates and alkalies imported in 1937-38 was worth Rs. 3,33,00,000. This included potasium nitrate, sodium sulphate, calcium chloride and magnesium chloride. *Pari passu* with this; thousands of acres of land in India are today rendered unfit for cultivation owing to excessive salinity of the soil. If, instead of spending lakhs on the suppression of salt manufacture, Government were to utilize even a fraction of that amount for developing the salt industry which forms the base and starting point of all heavy chemical industries, not only could large areas of land be reclaimed for agricultural purposes, but crores of rupees could also be saved from being drained out of the country for the purpose of importing chemicals.

The suppression of the salt industry has also spelt the suppression of the manufacture of a number of other chemicals. According to 1873-76 figures the number for the manufacture of some of these chemicals in North India alone was as follows:

Year	Shora	Kruthad	Khari	Sajji	Rassi
1873–74	212	13908	668	3760	815
1874–75	186	7409	498	3620	114
1875–76	132	6701	750	4853	387
1876–77	130	5633	544	1765	212

The relation between the suppression of these manufactures and the enforcement of salt laws will be seen from the following extract from a Government report for the years 1872-73, page 109:

> "I have seen the analysis of the samples of salt obtained from Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Badaun, Agra, Mainpuri, Faruqabad, Jaunpur and Ghazipur. In my opinion, to allow alkalies to be manufactured from the saline earth that is to be found on either side of the Jumna river would be disastrous. To give permission to manufacture alkalies at any place from the saline earth would be dangerous. It would jeopardize the salt revenue on lakhs of maunds of common salt."

In 1940 and 1941, 1,50,000 cwts. of dried and salted fish was exported from the country. The dried and salted fish consumed in the country must be taken to be many times that quantity. Similarly, in the year 1939-40, 31,800 tons (87,00,000 mds.) of dried and cured hides were exported from the country. Salt is also used in paper manufacture, agriculture, soap, glass and steel industries and in the manufacture of glazed earthenware, to mention only a few. And yet the amount of rebate claimed and granted on the use of salt for industrial purposes has been showing a decline in spite of the rapid growth of these industries.

Salt consumption declined by 25% (12 to 9 lbs. per head) in the course of 50 years as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.* At the same time the cost of salt to the rural labourer for a family came to about two months' wages i.e. 1/6 of the whole annual earnings (J. Cranford—1836).

Considering that the total production of salt in India is 5.1 crore maunds and includes the quota used for industrial purposes and cattle, an average of about 10 lbs. per head is left for human consumption which is far below the requirement of a man in the tropics.‡

In spite of this decline in the basic consumption of salt, in Canara and near Vedaranyam† special excise personnel are employed to turn into the sea or otherwise destroy salt fit for human consumption as soon as nature deposits it.

Government have hardly shown any initiative in organizing the salt industry on scientific lines. Their methods of salt manufacture are crude, primitive and inefficient. The overhead and supervising charges exceed the actual cost of production, for instance, in the case of Sambhar salt the cost of production per maund is only 8.6 pies but after the addition of the overhead and supervising charges it comes to 3 as. 2.34 pies per maund.§ For Delhi the overhead charges work out to 623% of the cost of production.

Nothing has been done to reclaim other valuable by-products from the Sambhar lake deposits after

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* Year	Consumption per individual
1793	11.90 lbs.
1803	11.27 ,,
1823	11.44 ,,
1833	8.74 ,,
1843	9.0 ,,

See also Appendix A.

‡ See Appendix B. † See Appendix C.

§ Place	Cost of production	Total cost including overhead charges	Average cost of Production for the whole year	Sale price
Sambhar	0/0/8.64	0/2/6.60	0/3/2.34	0/4/3
Didwana	0/1/9.84	0/2/3.80	0/2/8.02	0/2/6
Pachbhadra	0/2/2.19	0/2/10.82	0/3/0.12	0/3/0
Khewda	0/2/8.69	0/3/3.65	0/3/4.42	0/4/3
Barchha	0/1/10.97	0/2/4.42	0/2/4.43	0/4/3
Kala Bara	0/2/10.30	0/3/0.88	0/3/3.88	0/4/3

Most revealing too are the following figures provided by the Salt Department of the Government of India:

Rate of Duty	Rs. 1/9/- per md.
Per capita incidence	,, -/4/- ,,
Cost of production at the Govt. salt sources 1944-45	,, -/4/4 ,,

the extraction of common salt and so lakhs of tons of sodium sulphate, sodium carbonate and soda bicarbonate are allowed to go to waste while large sums of money are drained out of the country by the import of the chemicals for industrial purposes.

II

It is little realized that salt manufacture was at one time next in universality only to the hand-spinning industry, nor is the story of its exploitation and suppression less tragic.

During the days of the East India Company's salt monopoly numerous petitions were presented against the sweating of Molunghees. Under date 26-9-1874, wrote the Board of Trade to the Governor-General-in-Council in the course of a communication:

> "Your honourable Board expressed your opinion that the investigation you have made into the circumstances relating to Adjoora tenure left no room for doubt of its being a system of coercion; consequently, equally repugnant to the spirit of the Regulations and to the dictates of justice and good policy."

In 24 Parganas the Agent reported that "the remuneration of Molunghees amounted to only Rs. 6/- for 7½ months' labour, i. e., the entire salt manufacturing season, so that the Molunghee was in permanent bondage to the Agency." Special courts of justice were established claiming to safeguard the interests of the Molunghees but these only helped to "tantalize wretches who neither can, or else do not, prefer a complaint from the dread of still greater oppression."

So widespread was the manufacture of salt that to safeguard the monopoly, savage laws were passed. Thus the 1778 Salt Rules and the Regulation of 1793 required proprietors of land "to give information of illicit manufacture or import on pain of penalties, if salt was proved, in *Diwani Adalat*, to have been made or imported with their connivance." Regulation 6 of 1801 provided for Rs. 5,000/- fine, if manufacture or establishment of salt works was not reported when proved. Regulation 10 of 1819 imposed a fine of Rs. 500/- for each salt work on a Zamindar's estate about which information was knowingly suppressed from Government. Section 31 made each little fireplace a *khalari*, so that some salt water boiled in a cooking pot, made the Zamindar liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-. By Regulation 10 of 1826, burning of straw steeped in water, with the purpose of using saline ashes as condiment for food was made an offence as under Regulation 10 of 1819, and also any bed prepared for evaporation of sea water was construed to be a salt work.

Regulation XXIX of 1838 added to the above penal provisions: "Such knowledge shall not be required to be established by the direct proof but may be inferred from circumstances at the discretion of the judge." Also, if the *Zamindari* was a partnership, each of the several proprietors was liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-.

The abolition of the Government monopoly of salt in 1863 resulted in the abandonment of salt manufacture by the Government. At the same time, free manufacture of salt in India was inhibited owing to the excise duty on salt, with the result that Indian salt was soon entirely replaced by imported salt. It reduced thousands upon thousands of persons who, under the monopoly system, were engaged in the manufacture of salt to landless labourers. In the words of Sir Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Government of India, "they were the first victims of famine in Orissa. They had nothing to fall back upon . . . they had no agricultural produce of their own . . . a great many of them starved," and, "a considerable number of them were swept off the face of the earth."

That Draconian policy continues even today. Section 48A of the Bombay Salt Act lays down among other things that any salt revenue officer "who is guilty of cowardice shall on conviction before a magistrate be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to three months' pay or with both." The word 'cowardice' is not defined. But one will have no difficulty in understanding what cowardice can possibly mean in the administration of an Act which takes in its sweep millions of human beings, men and women, young and old, cripples and healthy.

Salt duty has been called the Indian *gabelle*. In France an excessive high salt tax was one of the causes of the French Revolution. History has not been far different in India.

As the places, where salt used to be manufactured before its suppression are also places where there is a perpetual scarcity of rainfall and conditions are not otherwise favourable for cultivation, salt manufacture provided an occupation *par excellence* to hundreds upon thousands of poor people. In Balasore and Cuttack alone at one time 44,000 people derived their living from the manufacture of salt. Suppression of salt manufacture resulted in widespread unemployment among these people and, in fact in many places, produced such discontent as to cause risings which had to be suppressed with great severity.

Place	Wholesale price per md.
Delhi	Rs. 3-8-4
Allahabad	„ 3-3-0
Calcutta	„ 6-8-0
Madras	„ 2-1-1
Bombay	„ 3-12-10
Sind	„ 2-8-10

Two points that emerge from these are that whereas the cost of production of salt at the Government salt sources (1944-45) was Rs. -/4/4 per md., the wholesale price per maund in Delhi was Rs. 3/8/4. Deducting from it Rs. 1/9/- duty, the balance of Rs. 1/11/- over the cost of production represents the overhead charges, i. e. nearly 623% on the cost price. The corresponding percentage for Calcutta is 1592!

And why this discrepancy between the Calcutta price and the Delhi price of salt? Is it because the bulk of Liverpool salt is landed in Calcutta and is consumed almost entirely in Bengal? Must 13 crores be taxed to subsidize this unnatural import? Nothing could show better the monstrosity of the Government's salt monopoly. If the people of Bengal were free to manufacture salt without any duty or licence, they could have all the salt they require at 1 or 2 annas per maund.

In Surat the raising of the salt duty from as. 12/- to Re. 1/- in 1844 caused riots which were suppressed. The duty was afterwards restored to the old scale of as. 12/- per maund. In 1817 the enforcement of the salt monopoly caused a "widspread rebellion" in Orissa which had to be suppressed with "maximum force".

How extensive this occupation was and what potentialities for expansion there are for developing the salt resources of the country will be seen from the following brief bird's-eye view of the centres of manufacture which at one time were flourishing but are today lying in a state of disuse as a result of the suppression of free manufacture of salt.*

In a country where salt can be manufactured in such abundance locally by the people themselves at negligible cost from hundreds and thousands of salt lakes, salt springs, brine wells and saline earth, not to mention thousands of miles of seaboard, it is nothing short of criminal squandering of the nation's patrimony to deplete the salt mines of their contents while all these sources are left undeveloped.

To sum up therefore:

1. Free manufacture of salt by the people without any tax or licence should be encouraged and an effort made to bring back into operation all the centres of salt manufacture which at one time flourished but are today in disuse as a result of Government suppression. This will enable the full complement of salt requirement for men and cattle to be produced from local salt at about anna 1 per maund, eliminating as it will, the cost of transport and supervision and middleman's profits. What is more, the extension of salt manufacture by the people in the way suggested will not jeopardize Government's revenue if it chooses to undertake manufacture of refined salt.

2. The import of Liverpool and Cheshire salt is a monstrosity. It has an evil history.§ It ought to be stopped immediately by the imposition of a heavy import duty.

3. This would prevent 45 lakhs of rupees every year from going out of the country.

4. Free permission for the manufacture of salt in the Indian States will save Government an annual sum of nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, which is at present being given to the various States as compensation to prevent salt being manufactured within their territories.

5. The Government should undertake the reclamation of salts other than the common salt which are to be found in the various saline earths in India or exist as impurities along with the salt in the salt lakes. The Government should further undertake the manufacture of alkalies and chemicals from earth on scientific lines and prevent their importation from abroad by the imposition of import duties.

6. The present Excise Department ought forthwith to be abolished and the development of salt manufacture made over to the Industries Department. The present Excise personnel are by tradition and training unfit to handle an industry on scientific or business lines. The money spent on providing salaries to the highly paid officials of the department should be utilized for meeting the deficit in the revenue caused by the abolition of the salt duty or for promoting research for the organization of the salt industry on scientific and economical lines.

These measures will reduce the deficit caused by the direct loss of excise revenue to a very considerable extent and the country on the whole will materially gain in the end by being provided with cheap salt and other chemicals required for its industries, agriculture and cattle which are at present being starved.* Occupation will also be provided to lakhs of people in areas which are unfit for cultivation and therefore subject to repeated famines. There will thus be an all round improvement in the health of the soil as well as the inhabitants on it, both animal and human.

Delhi, 13-5-'46

* See Appendix D. § See Appendix E.

* See Appendix F.

APPENDIX A

Excise and Salt Consumption

Mr. Gokhale, speaking from the Congress platform in 1895 at Calcutta, said:

"In 1882, i. e. before the duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2 crores, 90 lakhs maunds. In that year, the duty was reduced all round to Rs. 2/- and consumption at once began expanding. And this consumption stood at 337 lakhs in 1887, when Lord Dufferin again raised the duty to Rs. 2/ 8/- a maund. What was the result? The expansion of consumption, which had gone on so steadily during Ripon's time, at once ceased. And since that year up till now, i. e. during a period of 8 years, consumption has remained absolutely stationary, the figure for the last year being 341 lakhs of maunds . . . . . We thus find that, while under Lord Ripon's reduced duties the consumption increased in 5 years by about 50 lakhs of maunds, under Dufferin's enhanced duties it increased by only 4 lakhs in a period of 8 years. Population has been steadily increasing and you will at once see that consumption has actually gone back during these 8 years."

Coming to the more specific issue of *per capita* consumption, Mr. Gokhale said:

"Eminent physicians have laid down that for healthful existence the annual cousumption of salt must be 12 lbs. per head. Now, during the administration of Lord Lawrence . . the consumption was about 12 lbs. per head. After that it began to decline, till at the end of Lord Lytton's regime, the average figure per head stood at about 9 lbs Then came the beneficent administration of Lord Ripon. And the duty on salt was lowered, as I have already mentioned, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund. Consumption went up by leaps and bounds and in 1887, the average per head stood at 10. 1/3 lbs. The enhanced duties, however, have once more put back the figure, and last year it stood at only 9½ lbs. per head."

APPENDIX B

Salt and Health

More salt is required to keep a man in health in the tropics than in cold or temperate climate. Again, when the diet is wholly or partly vegetarian, more condiment is required to maintain the balance of salt in the system.

Observes Mr. Carver in his article on salt: "A year or two back the British army authorities in India began issuing extra salt to the troops, because it was discovered that in the hot season it keeps them healthy, and prevents exhaustion and heat stroke. The salt replaces that lost from the body by profuse perspiration. Doctors have found that perspiration on hot work, resulting in loss of salt, makes men liable to muscular cramp. During the war, workers in America were supplied with tablets of common salt for adding to drinking water in order to replace the salt lost."

Continues Mr. Carver: "Without salt, health and vigour fail. In Holland in the Middle Ages one of the legal punishments was to deprive a man of salt, and this caused depression and illness. Criminals in Sweden were once allowed, as an alternative to capital punishment, to abstain from salt for a month, eating saltless food, and the result was, they usually died.

"During the sieges and famines, too, shortage of salt always causes suffering and ill-health. Only where man lives mainly on milk and flesh — the latter consumed raw or roasted so that its salt is not lost — is it possible for him to do without ordinary salt, sodium chloride. But a cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt."

How heavily the duty on this essential article of diet affects the millions of the poor in India may be judged from the following from a petition which the cultivators from Bombay submitted to the Bombay Government on November 26, 1852 and which was read out by Rustomjee Viccajee in the course of his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the following year. The petitioners stated "that the produce of their fields supplied them with food enough for eight months in the year; that during the remaining four months they subsisted on vegetables, which they season with chillies, and salt when the latter was free from duty; but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort."

APPENDIX C

Destruction of Natural Salt

Bruce writing on the salt sources of India in 1863 observes: "In Ganjam and Rajahmundry, these swamps abound," whereas Tanjore and Masulipattam "are especially productive of fine quality salt." In these districts, this spontaneous salt as it was called could be manufactured "to almost any extent, of fine quality and at a small charge, probably on an average of Rs. 4/- per 120 maunds or 1/3 anna per maund." The great swamps to north and west of Point Calymere, near about Vedaranyam, extending for upwards of 30 miles, produced a variety of salt "very white and of peculiarly fine crystals." But the policy of the administration did more serious injury to the spontaneous salt, than even to the Malabar sea-salt, described by T. A. Barber. *Its manufacture was automatic and therefore not preventible. The Government, therefore, sought refuge in destroying it wholesale,* so as to render smuggling impossible, the reason urged to support such a policy being that the localities, where it was produced, were isolated, and inconvenient of approach in the then state of inland communications. The 1876 Commission, however, noted the fact of its being collected at some places, and sold at a discount — against manufactured salt — the Vedaranyam salt in particular. In 1859, the Government circularized Collectors asking for information in regard to their present and proposed attitude towards "spontaneous salt," but no important action was taken upon the replies received, the distruction at some places, and collection at others, continuing the same as ever before.

APPENDIX D

Excellent salt in large quantities was produced at Tilwada, eight miles away from Pachbhadra, which was known as Tilwadi salt. In the villages of Hundu, Limbu, Padharu, there are ponds full of saline water fit for manufacture of saft. Natural salt of a high quality was also found in Charni, opp. Chitwana, from Charni down to Waramba. There is a great concentration of salt in river water which continues right up to Mandola downwards. Besides there are a number of salt springs down the river bank where crystalline salt is found in a natural state. In Phlaudi in Jodhpur and in Lokasur in Bikaner there are salt lakes. In the west of Rachodra village there is a lake, which is several miles in area, into which several salt springs empty themselves. The salt produced from it is better than Sambhar salt, being of 97–98% purity. 2,00,000 maunds of common salt was at one time produced in Phlaudi State. In Nayear and Jodhpur States there are 36 villages covering 400 sq. miles of area where salt can be manufactured under particularly favourable conditions of production. In Rivasa, 1,2,5000 mds. of salt was produced.

Thirty miles from Sambhar is the Raichur salt lake with several other salt lakes in its proximity. Lakhs of maunds of salt were manufactured in the villages of Nasnoda, Pali, Humauns, Sayanko, Dharasani, Khedwa Goora, Kuchpak, Lalki, Sanod, Rupvas, .Buryalo and Samwora. Other places of salt manufacture were Akhari, Parvata and extensive areas round Bhakigaon, Bhakhimandol and Jahyali. In these places salt can be dug up in a free natural state.

In Chakur near Churu in Bikaner, 250,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Pokhtu 30,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Durgapur State, Mr. Young in the year 1890 catalogued 2992 salt factories, the annual production being 70,000 to 80,000 mds. of salt. In Jhabua State two varieties of salt were produced, *phul* and *sadharan*, with sodium chloride content of 96 and 88% respectively.

In Jaisalmer State 30,000 mds. were produced in the year 1867. In Bharatpur State according to the Government report of 1867-68 the annual production averaged:

Matia	12,000 mds.
Katila	75,000 "
Purania	6,00,000 "

In 1867 salt was manufactured in the villages of Sultanpur, Sadrana, Saidpur, Mahmudpur, Mubarikpur, Basirpur,

Balpur, Kaliabaz, Jaharpur and Silona, covering an area of 1565 acres. The number of salt wells was 330. The average annual salt production from these wells was 5,056,058 mds. In the years 1866 and 1868, the salt manufactured and sold was 6,94,357 mds. The figure for 1877-78 was 9,24,442 mds.

In Burari, 8 miles from Delhi, 2,00,000 mds. of salt was manufactured in 19 villages, covering an area of 30 sq. miles. Tanks in this area yield 1½ ozs. of salt from every 2 lbs. of water. Other places of manufacture are Basipur, Adari, Ferozepur, Ghadi and Dariapur. In Ballabhgad Tahsil, salt is manufactured from saline earth in 30 villages. In Rahtak Dist. there were 90 nitre factories, in Hansi and Hissar 5o, in Shahpur Dist. 19. In Jind State nitre was manufactured in 72 villages out of the total 150. In Bhawalpur State the manufacture of salt was stopped by paying an annual compensation of Rs. 86,000 to the State. Similarly, in Yudo Kotah State the manufacture of salt was stopped in 1867 by paying Rs. 38,000 annually as compensation. In Mysore State the Government income for the year 1867 from the salt pans was Rs. 13,007/12/7. On behalf of Riyasat Bow in the Bombay Presidency a letter was addressed to the Government in 1926 to the effect that 2 lakh maunds of salt annually could easily be dug out of the ground and put into the market if the necessary permission was granted.

In U. P., at one time there were said to be 15,000 salt factories in operation in the province. As a result of their activities there was a diminution of 10 lakhs of maunds in the sale of Government salt in the year 1867.

In the Bombay Presidency, in Malabar and Canara there were 6438 salt factories which were stopped. According to a report by Mr. T. A. Barber in 1876, 6438 persons were thrown out of employment as a result of the suppression of salt manufacture.

In Bengal, salt was manufactured all along the sea coast up to Banglore and Cuttack in Orissa. The production of salt was 44 lakhs maunds and gave employment to 44,000 men.

In Madras, according to Mr. Bruce (1863), there were a number of salt lakes in Ganjam, Rajahmundry and Masulipattam where salt was manufactured at the cost of Rs. 40/- per 120 maunds. According to Plowdeon there was a lake 30 miles in length near Vedaranyam which yielded white crystalline salt. When all efforts to prevent the people from manufacturing salt failed an attempt was made to destroy the salt and thus the manufacture was put to an end. In Levingpura, Sevatlakulam, Urani, Kamalapattanam, Arumugeneri, Kiranpur and Kulasekharapattanam in Tinnevelly Dist. on the western seaboard there were a number of factories manufacturing salt which were stopped in 1844.

In Sind salt was manufactured in a number of places in Thar and Parkar districts in 1847 and the Run of Cutch. In 1845-46, 6,924 mds. of salt were produced from Mokai lake in the desert of Sind. There are a number of places where crystalline salt is found. According to Mr. Burke there is a salt deposit 20 miles by 15 near Kotri station. The amount of salt in it is estimated to be 184,41,51,430 tons. Up to the year 1878 and 1879 salt was manufactured from saline earth. There were innumerable factories for the manufacture of salt from saline earth. In that year the salt tax was raised from as. 8/- to Rs. 2/8/- per maund and all these small factories were stopped.

APPENDIX E

Liverpool Salt — A Monstrosity

Mr. F. W. Prideax, Asst. Examiner of India, No. 1815 in his evidence before the Select Committee of Indian territories clearly stated that the East India Company's price fixation policy of salt in Bengal was influenced by the consideration of helping British manufacturers of salt as well as British exporters. The shipping industry suffered in the East India trade from a dearth of cargo on the outward journey. Stones had often to be used as ballast. Later salt came to be used as the most suitable material to be transported, both as ballast and as cargo. James Aikin, shipowner, gave the following evidence before the 1836 Select Committee on Salt:

> "Mr. Bagashaw: Do you know many shipowners at the port of Liverpool who would much prefer loading salt immediately on the vessels arriving for Calcutta, than to keep them in the berths waiting for light goods? . . . Certainly, and as I presume the object of the Committee is to obtain information and not to enter into a contract, I will endeavour to show the testimony I have given is correct. We obtain from Liverpool to Calcutta freight amounting to £ 500 to £ 600. After lying on the berth a month or six weeks, if we could get the same sum by taking salt £1 per ton in a few days instead of weeks, of course, we should prefer it; even if we did it at a cheaper rate, the difference of time would more than compensate."

What the import of foreign salt meant to the people of Bengal and Bengal's Salt Industry will be seen from the following from Frederick J. Haliday, Secretary, Government of India, Home Dept.:

> "It is generally understood by those acquainted with the subject and it cannot be denied by any one, who looks into the details, that the present price of the government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagance, connected with the Government system of manufacture and by those many speculations and extortions and corruptions which are inevitable in such a system and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under these circumstances to persons informed upon the subject that if the Government were to withdraw, if there were no duty imposed and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturer in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal."

And this in spite of the fact that, the salt manufactured in Bengal, as the test, showed, was as good as, if not better than, the imported salt.

In 1931 the question of imposing a customs duty on imported salt was brought up before the Central Legislative Assembly and it was resolved to impose a duty of 4½ as. per maund on it. This was calculated to bring Rs. 34 lakhs of additional revenue to the Government. A countervailing duty of an equivalent

amount was at the same time put on salt imported into Bengal from other provinces. This continued during the year 1932-33. In March 1933, the duty was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ as. per md. and in 1936 still further to $1\frac{1}{2}$ as. per md. Finally in May 1938 it was altogether removed with the result that in that year the import of Aden salt into Bengal decreased from 8378440 to 4524829 mds. But whereas in 1937-38 salt imports from Port Said, Jibuti and Ras Haifa were nil, in 1938-39 ,2112480 mds. were imported from Port Said, 561630 from Jibuti, 452640 mds. from Ras Haifa. Liverpool which in 1937-38 had exported only 22 mds. of salt, in 1938-39 exported 169710 mds. and in 1939-40 234875 mds. The import of salt into Bengal from other parts of India, which in 1937-38 was 6234059 mds. or 39.43% of the total consumption, fell in 1938-39 to 549874 mds. or 38.96% of the total consumption. But the import of Aden salt was reduced, as we have already seen, to half the import, and the import from Liverpool increased from 22 mds. to 169710 mds. In other words the foreign salt completely replaced the deficit caused by the drop in the import of Aden and Indian salt.

APPENDIX F

Salt As Manure and Cattle Feed

As in the case of salt used for human consumption, so in the case of salt used for agricultural purposes as manure, there has been a marked decline as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.

Mr. Robertson, who was appointed by Government to report upon agricultural conditions in Coimbatore observed in the course of his report:

> "Salt has long been used for promoting vegetation. It is of the greatest value as a manure in inland countries .... It has been ascertained by direct experiment that the lands near some coasts receive annually as much as 300 lbs. of salt per acre carried to it by the winds. Salt is generally used as an auxiliary manure with lime or other manures. In England as much as 600 lbs. of salt per acre is applied with other manure to land intended for Mangold Surtzel, and for meadow land a usual top dressing is 200 lbs. of salt with 100 lbs. of nitrate of soda. Heavy dressings of salt are sometimes applied to pasture land to improve the herbage and kill insects injurious to grass."

The same was testified to by Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., in his evidence before the 1888 Select Committee on Salt Duties in England. Quoting from a letter from Mr. Bevin of Chester, he discribed the results of an experiment made on a farm 'overrun with coltfoot and other weed' of strewing on it ashes from salt works. The account concluded:

> "The effect on the corn crops, besides destroying the weed completely, was very great. I do not exaggerate in saying, that on the part of the field on which this manure was laid, the crop was nearly treble in proportion and the grain, of excellent quality."

The following figures of the issue of denatured salt will show how our agriculture is starved of the necessary manure:

1914–1915	2644 mds.
1915–1916	2655 "
1918–1919	suspended on account of shortage
1919–1920	175 mds.
1920–1921	402 mds.
1922–1923	772 mds.
1925–1926	2407 mds.

In cattle the salt hunger obtains in such an intense form that cattle often resort to human or animal excreta by the wayside to satisfy it.

"I marvelled very much at this abnormal appetite," observes Ratton in his Handbook on Salt, "but subsequently finding that such cattle were depastured on poor grass without any salt whatever either in their natural food, or in the crude state, I ceased to wonder, for these excrements happen to contain an appreciable amount of salt and are often rich in it. The consequences of the habit are most dangerous."

Ratton goes on to describe how it gives rise to the disease of hytids, and how herds of cattle perishing therefrom had been saved by the liberal use of salt, "not that salt is in any sense a remedy, but it is a prophylactic or preventive of the disease."

That the scarcity is the direct result of the salt duty will be seen from the following from the evidence of John Crawford of the Bengal Medical Service before the Select Committee on salt in British India (1836):

> "It is a constant argument used by the Board of Customs against an increased consumption of salt in Bengal that salt neither is, nor ever will be, used except for mere alimentary purposes. This is not strictly correct, even as applicable to the present state of things. A good deal of salt (not indeed nitrate of soda, for that being highly taxed cannot be used for such a purpose, but of other impure and untaxed substitutes) is given to horses, horned cattle and even to sheep; pure salt, and in considerable quantity, would no doubt be given, if it could be afforded."

Hindustani Pracharak School, Wardha

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, has decided to open a Hindustani Pracharak School in Wardha from 1st July, 1946, in order to accelerate the creation of teachers of the national language. It is intended to select 25 pupils from all over India to receive the training. Only such persons will be chosen who have a good knowledge of either of the two languages, Hindi or Urdu, and a working knowledge of the other. The training will be for a period of 10 months. 15 students will be eligible, according to their capacity, for a scholarship each of Rs. 25/- per month.

The prospectus and rules of the School may be had from the Sabha Office, Wardha. All applications must be in by 10th June, 1946.

Arrangements for receiving women students can be made at the Mahila Ashram, Wardha. Intending women applicants may apply for rules and prospectus to the Secretary, Mahila Ashram, Wardha.

Shriman Narayan Agarwal
Secretary,
Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

AYURVEDA AND NATURE CURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Vaidya Vallabharam, Professor of Ayurveda and Vanaspati Shastra writes:

"By combining *Ayurveda* with allopathy the essentials of the former science have been almost destroyed. Cure through *Ayurveda* is based on the five elements. Misuse of air will cause wind, that of fire bile, of water phlegm. The progress of *Ayurveda* depends on its recognition of these basic factors in disease. It holds that for the cure of such complaints as mentioned above, the remedy lies in the proper use of air, light and water. The religious factor must be there too in order scrupulously to observe the laws of nature. *Pathya* (diet cure) is a scientific term of the greatest importance in *Ayurveda*. Its real meaning is that freedom from disease depends on a proper observance of the laws of nature.

"Vagbhat says:

" Without strict dieting of what use is medicine?
With strict dieting why any other medicine ?"

I have no doubt whatsoever that the spread of *Ramanama* and pure living are the best and cheapest preventives of disease. The tragedy is that doctors, *hakims* and *vaidyas* do not make use of *Ramanama* as the sovereign of cures. There is no place given to it in current *Ayurvedic* literature except it be in the shape of a charm which will drive people further into the well of superstition. *Ramanama* has in fact no connection with superstition. It is nature's supreme law. Whoever observes it is free from disease and *vice versa*. The same law which keeps one free from disease applies also to its cure. An apt question is as to why a man who recites *Ramanama* regularly and leads a pure life should ever fall ill. Man is by nature imperfect. A thoughtful man strives after perfection, but never attains it. He stumbles on the way, however, unwittingly. The whole of God's law is embodied in a pure life. The first thing is to realize one's limitations. It should be obvious that the moment one transgresses those limits one falls ill. Thus a balanced diet eaten in accordance with needs gives one freedom from disease. How is one to know what is the proper diet for one? Many such enigmas can be imagined. The purport of it all is that everyone should be his own doctor and find out his limitations. The man who does so will surely live up to 125.

Vaidya Vallabharam asks whether well known home drugs and condiments can be included in nature cure. Doctor friends claim that they do nothing more than investigating the laws and act accordingly and that therefore they are the best nature cure men. Everything can be explained away in this manner. All I want to say is that anything more than *Ramanama* is really contrary to true nature cure. The more one recedes from this central principle the farther away one goes from nature cure. Following this line of thought I limit nature cure to the use of the five elements. But a *Vaidya* who goes beyond this and uses such herbs as grow or can be grown in his neighbourhood purely for service of the sick and not for money may claim to be a nature cure man. But where are such *Vaidyas* to be found? Today most of them are engaged in making money. They do no research work and it is because of their greed and mental laziness that the science of *Ayurveda* is at a low ebb. Instead of admitting their own weakness they throw the blame on government and public men. Government is powerless to help those who through their own fault become helpless and thereby drag the name of *Ayurveda* in the mud.

Simla, 9-5-'46

(Condensed from *Harijanbandhu*)

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. The Congress Constitution makes it incumbent on all its candidates standing for election to be habitual wearers of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. Does this not imply that they can only use that Khadi which is certified by the A. I. S. A, ?

A. In my opinion it cannot be otherwise.

Q. Is a dealer in uncertified Khadi eligible to hold office in a Congress Committee?

A. It is beyond my conception as to how a dealer in uncertified Khadi can be a Congressman, leave alone an aspirant for holding office in any Congress Committee.

Q. You say that a dealer in uncertified Khadi cannot even be a Congressman much less an office holder. But what about those who are office holders in Congress and who deal in mill and even sell foreign cloth?

A. My answer to the second question is equally applicable to the persons referred to in the third. It is for these very reasons that I have recommended the removal of the relevant clauses from the Congress constitution. Experience has taught us that we are unable to adhere to the rules in question.

Simla, 8-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

CONTENTS

			PAGE
WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION	...	PYARELAL	134
A SIMLA DIARY	...	PYARELAL	135
HEART SEARCHING	...	PYARELAL	137
USEFUL HINTS	...	J. C. KUMARAPPA	138
A GOOD REMINDER	...	M. K. GANDHI	139
HOW CAN VIOLENCE BE STOPPED?	...	M. K. GANDHI	140
TOTAL PROHIBITION	...	M. K. GANDHI	140
SLIGHTING SWARAJ?	...	M. K. GANDHI	141
AN EXACTION & OPPRESSION		PYARELAL	141
AYURVEDA & NATURE CURE		M. K. GANDHI	148
QUESTION BOX	...	M. K. GANDHI	148
NOTES:			
NON-VIOLENCE & KHADI	...	M. K. G.	133
COCKTAIL PARTIES	...	M. K. G.	133
HARIJAN COOKS	...	M. K. G.	133
VALMIKIS OF SIMLA	...	M. K. G.	133
TO CORRESPONDENTS	...	M. K. G.	133
HINDUSTANI PRACHARAK SCHOOL, WARDHA	...	AGARWAL	147

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates — INLAND: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; FOREIGN: One year Rs. 8 or 14. sh. or $. 3.